10: Laufer--361 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia
116.756. 121

"ORIGIN OF THE WORD SHAMAN

In Chinese Clay Figures (p.198) the writer had occasion to discuss briefly the history of our word shaman, and to refer at the close of his naturally succinct note to the new theory of J. Németh, according to which the term should be an ancient constituent of the Turkish-Tungusian languages. The latter reference was an addition inserted in the proofs at the moment when Mr. Németh's article reached me (summer 1914), but since then it has been possible to scrutinize his theory at close range, with the result that it can be confirmed and even be supported with new data and arguments. As ethnologists may be expected to take an interest in the history of a term which has become part and parcel of anthropological nomenclature, and the origin of which has given rise to numerous discussions and speculations, a brief examination of the case might not be unwelcome to the readers of the Anthropologist."

10: Laufer-- 361 [2] E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia
116, 197, 756

"There could never be a serious doubt of the real source from which the word shaman is derived. We received it from the Russians; it was the Russian (chiefly Cossack) explorers and conquerors of eastern Siberia in the second half of the seventeenth century, who heard and recorded the term among Tungusian tribes. It was first brought to Europe by the Hollander, E. Ysbrants Ides, and by Adam Brand, who from 1692 to 1695 accompanied a Russian embassy sent by Peter the Great to China."

10: Laufer--362-367 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-12
116, 197, 756, 114

"It is thus shown that our 'shaman' had its origin in the Tungusian languages, in all of which the word indeed is known as saman or saman, and with several other variations to be noted hereafter. It would be reasonable to regard the term as of native origin, for it is not likely that the name of a religious institution and function so characteristic of all the tribes of northern Asia should be borrowed from an outside quarter. Nevertheless it was possible that at a time when little was known about Siberian shamanism, and when rigid philological principles were not yet established, the theory could be advanced that Tungusian saman or saman were to be derived from the Chinese sa-men, itself a transcription of Pali samana corresponding to Sanskrit cramana, a technical term for the designation of a Buddhist monk or ascetic. The germ of this idea was well prepared as early as the eighteenth century. The Augustinian Pater A. Georgi(1) states correctly

1. Alphabetum Tibetanum (Rome, 1762), p. 222.

that the Samanaei mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus(2)are the adherents of Buddha,

2. In fact Clemens avails himself of the form Sarmanai.

and in this connection refers to La Croze, who already hazarded the combination of the

Samanaei with the shamans of the Tungusians (le nom de schaman est un nom de religion d'un peuple tartare, voisin des frontieres de la Chine'). Sanskrit not yet being well known at the time of La Croze and Georgi, the origin of the Greek term Samanaioi escaped them; this is what the philologists of the nineteenth century supplied. (3)

3. Maturin Veyssiere La Croze was born at Nantes in 1661, joined the clergy, suffered persecution on account of his liberal views, fled to Germany, where he turned a Protestant in 1696, and was made a member of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, where he died in 1739. His work Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, to which Georgi refers, unfortunately is not accessible to me. La Croze was a scholar of wide knowledge and linguistic ability: he was the first who had a presentiment of the relationship of Indian with Persian.

Which of them was the first to assert the connection of the Siberian šaman with the Indian term I am unable to ferret out; this point is immaterial, as the question is merely that of the history of an error. D. Banzarov(4) was inclined, without giving a specific

4. Černaya v'ära, p. 34 (see p. 366).

reference, to fix the responsibility on F. Schlegel, according to whom[363]the çramana among the crude tribes of Central Asia transformed themselves from hermits into shamans. I believe that Banzarov had in mind Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), romantic poet and Sanskrit scholar, who published in Heidelberg, 1808, an essay under the title Über die Sprache und Weisheit dor Indier, ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Alterthumskunde. (1) This is the only one of his works in which such a statement might be

1. An English translation was edited in London, 1889, in F.v. Schlegel's Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works.

supposed to occur, but on a cursory perusal of this book I am unable to trace it. The idea itself being romantic, there would be no reason to wonder that it took its root in the Romantic School. At all events it was alive in the first part of the nineteenth century. The French sinologue J.-P Abel-Rémusat(1788-1832)became a champion of this theory.(2)

2. Recherches sur les langues tartares (Paris, 1820), p. 133, and Observations sur la doctrine samanéenne et la triade suprême (Paris, 1831).

An ingenious scholar of the type of J. Klaproth (3) was capable of saying, 'Les peuples

3. Mémoires relatifs á l'Asie (Paris, 1828), vol. III, p. 67.

tartares ont sans doute reçu le mot chaman de l'Inde avec le bouddhisme, car il est Indien d'origine, et signifie un homme qui a vaincu toutes ses passions.' In 1857 Max Müller(4)

4. Chips from a German Workshop, vol. I, pp. 233-234.

of Oxford wrote,

> Shamanism found its way from India to Siberia via Tibet, China, and Mongolia. Rules on the formation of magic figures, on the treatment of diseases by charms, on the worship of evil spirits, on the acquisition of the supernatural powers, on charms, incantations, and other branches of Shaman witchcraft, are found in the Tanjur or the second part of the Tibetan canon, and in some of the late Tantras of the Nepalese collection.

Needless to add that the magical writings of the Tanjur are unknown to the shamans of Siberia and have nothing to do with Siberian shamanism. Still less is it intelligible how Müller could say that ' the only trace of the influence of Buddhism among the Chudic races, the Finn, Lapp, etc., is found in the name of their priests and sorcers, the

shamans.' The word shaman is foreign to any Finno-Ugrian language; it found its way into Finnish(shamani) and Hungarian as a scientific term only, in the same[364]manner as into the Indo-European languages. A. H. Sayce (1) has the following;

1. Introduction to the Science of Language, vol. II, p. 293

In shamanism, so called from the Shaman or Siberian sorcerer, who is himself but a transformed cramana, or Buddhist missionary priest, we rise to a higher conception of religion.

These superstitions were tenaciously upheld under the influence of the romantic movement of the pan-Indianism, which held the minds of scholars enthralled in the first part of the nineteenth century, and the germs of which are not yet entirely exterminated.

True it is that the Sanskrit word çramana with the Prākrit form samana has become widely known outside of the pale of India. It reached the ears of the Greek writers on India, who described the Buddhist monastics under such names as Sarmanes, Sarmanai, or Samanaioi. The first of these names was recorded by Megasthenes,(2) though the

2. Strabo XV, I, 59.

aingle text of Strabo from which all the existing codices have been copied offers the

erroneous transcription Garmanes. (3) The word has also passed into early Arabic

3. The texts in question are easily accessible in J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 65, 168, 170. See further C. Lassen, 'De nominibus quibus a veteribus appellantur Indorum philosophi,' in Rhein. Museum für Philol., vol. I, 1833. pp. 178-180, and Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II, p. 700; E. Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien, p. 245; T. Watters, Essays on the Chinese Language, p. 403; S. Levi, Journal asiatique (1911), I, p. 445.

records for the designation of the Indian and Bactrian Buddhists (for instance, in Masúdi, Gurdezi, and Abu'l Faradj) in the form samaniyya, while in later literature the form śaman was adopted. (4) In Firdausi's Shāhnāme, completed in A. D. 1010, we

4. Geza Kuun, Keleti Szemle, vol. IV, 1903, p. 133; G. Ferrand, Textes géographiques arabes relatifs à l'Extreme-Orient, vol. I, p. 131. The Mohammedan writers were perfectly conscious of the fact that the term hailed from India and denoted the

Buddhists of India and China. See particularly D. Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus (St. Petersburg, 1856) vol. I. pp. 165, 214, 217, etc. As far as I know, the shamanistic religion of Siberian tribes is not mentioned by any early Arabic or Persian author.

find saman in the sense of a worshipper of idols, and this Persian word likewise is traced to Sanskrit cramana and its congeners. (5) Again, it bears no relation to 'our'

5. P. Horn in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 7;K. Vullers (Lexicon persico-latinum, vol. I, p. 466) renders the term by idololatra and idolum.

or the [365] Siberian shaman but evidently refers to Indian Buddhists, for these śamans say 'Our religion is one of peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood.' (1) Finally the Indian word has been traced in the

1. Compare the quotation in H. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, P. 820.

newly discovered Indo-European language styled Tokharian in the form samāne; and

this induced A. Meillet to formulate the opinion that the Tokharian form (not a Prakrit form of Sanskrit çramana) would account for the Tungus word šaman. (2) With all

2. A. Meillet, 'Le Tokharien,' Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (Strasburg, 1914), vol. I, p. 19.

respect due to the scholarship of this eminent philologist it must be admitted, however, that there is a far cry from Tokharian to Tungusian, that there is no evidence for any contact of these two groups, and that the Tungus notion of a shaman is radically different from the conception of a Buddhist monk. If two words in geographically remote languages are physically alike or similar, but fundamentally diverse in meaning, it is safe to assume that the face resemblance is purely accidental.

Indeed this theory was brilliantly antagonized as early as 1842 by W. Schott, and H. Yule, (3) accepting his verdict, reached the conclusion, 'Whether the Tungus word is

3. Hobson-Jobson, p. 820

in any way connected with this or adopted from it [that is the Sanskrit-Pali term], is a doubtful question. 'Schott has devoted no less than three studies to this

problem (4) in which he endevored to dissociate saman from samana. His arguments

4. 'Über den Doppelsinn des Wortes Schamane und über den tungusischen Schamanen-Cultus am Hofe der Mandju-Kaiser,' Abhandlungen Berliner Akademie, 1842, pp. 1-8; 'Wohin gehört das Wort Schamane?' in his Altaische Studien, no. 3, ibid., 1867, pp. 138-141; and 'Das Wort Schamane,' in Erman's Archiv fur wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland, vol. XXIII, 1865, pp. 207-210.

are briefly as follows: the Chinese strictly descriminate between Manchu saman (shaman) and Sanskrit çramana, and never confound a shaman and a Buddhist monk, the two having totally diverse functions; a direct or indirect connection of Tungusian tribes with India is unproved; Buddhist missionaries never advanced into regions inhabited by Tungus (5)[366]

5. As emphasized in my article 'Burkhan,' Journal American Oriental Society (1917), pp. 390-395, there is no trace of Buddhism in the religion of the Tungusian peoples on the Amur.

it would be strange if they should have borrowed the only word in their language for the designation of their national priests; the forms of shamanism are uniform in a vast

territory extending from Lappland to the Bering Sea and far beyond into America; Vasilyev's hypothesis that shamanism should be a caricature of ancient Buddhist sorcery and jugglery and have been brought into existence by such influences is a mere phantom; the outward resemblance of the words saman and samana is purely fortuitous. Schott's etymological explanations of the word from Samoyed are not convincing, but his remark that Tungusian sam possibly is anciently related to Turkish kam testifies to great foresight and ingenuity; and this thesis, as will be seen, can now really be proved. Also Ch. de Harlez (1) joined the ranks of the adversaries of the Indian hypothesis, reiterating in

1. La Religion nationale des Tartares orientaux (Bruxelles, 1887), p. 28.

the main Schott's arguments. In Russia, it had been severely criticized as far back as 1846 by Dordji Banzarov, a Buryat and an excellent Mongol scholar. (2) Nevertheless

2. His works were collected and edited by Potanin in 1891 under the title Cernaya v'ara ili samanstvo u Mongolov i drugiya stat'i ('The Black Faith or Shamanism among the Mongols and Other Articles'). Regarding the word shaman see p. 34.

in Russian dictionaries also the nightmare of the cramana is perpetuated. (3) As it

3. For instance, in Gor'aev, Sravnitelny etimologiceski slovar' russkago yazyka, p. 418.

happens, twilight reveries appeal more to the multitude than plain reason and continue to live even if abandoned by the thinking minority; it is not always the best and fittest that survives. The ghost of the Indian çramana still haunts the poor shaman in our standard dictionaries and cyclopaedias (see Webster, Nouveau Larousse, and Littre, Dictionnaire de la langue française; Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia, vol. X, p. 385; Funk and Wagnalls' Dictionary offers even a 'Persian-Hindustani shaman, pagan'!) (4) It is a relief, therefore, to read in the new Oxford Dictionary,

4. Even in the 7th edition of O. Pexchel's Völkerkunde (p. 274) the cramana still holds way.

The Persian shemen, idol, idol temple, sometimes cited as the source, is unconnected. Evidence seems to be wanting for the plausible suggestion that the Mongolian word is an adoption of Chinese sha men, an ordained member of a Buddhist fraternity.

10: Laufer--362-367 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-12
116, 197, 756, 114

Eliminating 'plausible' and substituting 'Tungusian' for [367] 'Mongolian' this statement marks a progress in lexicographical literature. So there is hope that our great-grandchildren will perhaps be treated to a correct definition in the dictionaries of the following century."

10: Laufer--367-368 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-4
116, 114, 171, 197, 756

"The Hungarian scholar J. Németh (1) has attacked the problem in the right spirit,

1. 'Über den Ursprung des Wortes Šaman und einige Bemerkungen zur türkischmongolischen Lautgeschichte,' Keleti Szemle, vol. XIV, 1913-14, pp. 240-249.

and ably solved it by means of a sane philological method. A schooled phonetician, he has successfully worked for several years on the phonetic history of the Turkish and Mongol languages and established very interesting correspondences of phonetic phenomena in these two linguistic families. In the study cited he advances the law that primeval Turkish initial k' (palatalized k) has developed into Tartar k, Čuva j, Yakut x (spirant surd as in German ach), Mongol ts, č, and Manchu-Tungusian s, ś, or ś. He gives seven examples to this effect, the first of which is:

Turkish (Uigur and in the dialects of southern Siberia) kam or anciently q'a m (shaman), in some dialects kŭär, dum (with such derivations as kamdi, to prophesy; kamla, to heal; kamna, to shamanize; etc.). Čuvaš jum, jumeś (shaman); im-jum (durative charms). Manchu saman, Golde sama, š'ama, Olča šam, Oročon s'ama, Tungus on the middle Amur saman, Tungus of Udsk saman and šaman, Kondogir and Wilui Tungus xaman.

10: Laufer--367-368 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-2
116. 114. 171, 197, 756

Németh concludes that the origin of the much disputed word 'shaman' is thus definitely solved, and that it is an ancient property of the Turkish-Mongol languages. The phonetic alternation determined by him is perfectly correct and Manchu-Tungusian sam, s'am, or šam (2) is indeed the exact phonetic equivalent of Turkish kam. (3) Apart

2. This in fact is the stem of the word, not as formerly believed by some scholars, sa-, which was explained from Manchu sa- (to know). Németh justly rejects this derivation. By the way, Schott, the father of this etymology, disavowed it himself in his second treatise on the word shaman, quoted above. D. Banzarov (l.c., p. 35) justly recognized sam as the stem.

3. It was hitherto believed that the word for shaman was different in all languages of Siberia, while there is a fairly uniform designation for the female shaman (udagān, utygan, ubakxan, etc.). Hence V. F. Troščanski (Evolutsiya černoi v'ary [šamanstva] u Yakutov. 'Evolution of the Black Faith among the Yakut,' Kazan, 1902, p. 118) was prompted to the theory that the Siberian tribes originally had only female shamans, and after the time of their separation instituted also male shamans. This reconstruction is contestable on many grounds; for instance, we have male and

> female shamans . [368] co-existent in the most ancient days of China. The supposition on which the conclusion is based is now no longer valid: the word for the male shaman is in fact identical throughout from the Turkish to the Tungusian and Gilyak tribes.

from the Tungusian series noted by Németh [368] after Grube's Goldisches Wörterverziechnis, several other forms of the word have become known. De la Brunière (1)

> 1. In H. E. M. James, The Long White Mountain or a Journey in Manchuria (London, 1888), pp. 433, 434

recorded it in 1846 among the Golde as tsama or tsamo. I heard only s'ama from the Golde, in the same manner as Shimkevič, (2) but in view of the existence of several

> 2. Materialy dl'a izučeniya šamanstva u Goldov. p. 8.

Golde dialects such a form many be regarded as possible. A Rudnev (3) noted from a

> 3. Novyia dannyia po živoi mandžurskoi r'äči i šamanstru (New Data

on the Live Manchu Speech and Shamanism), p. 9.

Manchu, who was still conversant with his mother tongue, the following: sáma, sáman, sáma (nasalized a), and sāmăn.

The Gilyak style the shaman čam (tšam). This certainly is a loan-word received from Tungusian, (4) but it is not necessary to assume that the change of the initial š

> 4. There is no doubt that the shamanism of the Gilyak is derived from and a weak echo of that of the neighboring Amur tribes. There are but a few shamans among the Gilyak, and shamanizing is rarely practised by them (see for the present L. von Schrenck, Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande, vol. III, p. 752).

or s into the palatal explosive surd is due to the Gilyak; for this alternation is common within Tungusian, so that a Tungusian čam borrowed by the Gilyak may be presupposed for some Tungusian dialect spoken in the neighborhood of the Gilyak. Compare the following examples: Manchu nesuken and nečin (equal)--Jučen nušin; Manchu ničuxe (pearl)--Old Jučen inšuko or inšuxa, modern Jučen ninčuxe; or vice versâ, Jučen ančun (gold)--Manchu aisin."

10: Laufer--368-370 - E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-5
116. 114. 177, 197, 756

"It has been said that the word šaman is found only in the eastern part of Siberia and in Manchuria. There is, however, one well-authenticated instance on record to the effect that it was known also in northwestern Siberia. In the earliest account that we have of the Irtysh-Ostyak, written in 1715 by G. Novitski, their priests were styled šamančik.(5)

5. B. Munkácsi, Keleti Szemle, vol. IV, 1903, p. 88.

In view of the early date of this record we cannot well assume that this is a loan-word recieved through intercourse with the Russians. Whether the term still exists I [369] am unable to say from the sources at my disposal. S. Patkanow (1) gives for the

1. Die Irtysch-Ostjaken, pt. I, p. 120.

shamans of the Ostyak only the name tonx-ort. (2)

2. Consulting Castrén's vocabulary in his Versuch einer ostjakischen Sprachlehre I find that tonx means idol, and ort, workman, slave. If accordingly tonx-ort should mean servant of the idols, the term might hardly be claimed as a primeval designation of the shaman.

10: Laufer--368-370 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-2
116, 114. 177, 197, 756

The Turkish word kam is of ancient date(3)It is attested (and this is its earliest occur-

3. The Russians have derived from it the verb kamlat' (to shamanize, to conjure, to spell, to prophesy) and the noun kamlanie (the act of shamanizing).

rence) in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), where it said with respect to the Kirgiz(4) that they designate their sorcerers or shamans (Chinese wu) with the word

4. Regarding this name and its ancient Chinese transcriptions see Pelliot and Laufer, T'oung Pao, 1916, p. 295.

kam. The last character now reads kan, but was anciently possessed of a final labial nasal, which is still preserved in the dialects of southern China. Chinese wu is a very ancient term for the native medecine-men.(5) The word kam, further, is found in Uigur(6)

5. Regarding their activity see Chinese Clay Figures, pp. 109-200.

6. In the Kudatku Bilik, written in A. D. 1068 (H. Vámbéry, Uigurische Sprachmonumente, p. 221).

and in the Codex cumanicus of 1303. (7) It is also used by the Persian historian Rashid-

7. W. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, vol. II, p. 67. Nemeth overlooked these data but it is important to note the wide distribution of the word in time and space.

eddin (1247-1318) in 1302, with reference to the shamans of the Mongols. (8) The existence

8. F. Von Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 553, E. Blochet, Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Rashid Ed-Din, p. 165.

of the Tungusian word šaman can now be traced to the first part of the twelth century, for Pelliot (9) has found it as a Jučen word in a Chinese gloss, where it is transcribed in the

9. Journal asiatique, 1913, mars-avril, pp. 466-469.

form šan-man and explained as a sorceress. The Chinese transliteration would presuppose Jučen form šamman. Indeed we still meet forms with double m in the dialect of the Wilui Tungus, --samman and xamman. (10) The latter with initial spirant represents the

10. Recorded by R. Maack, Wil'uski okrug (The District of Wilui), pt. 3, p. 116.

missing link between Turkish kam (in the language of the Soyot or Urangkhai xam) and the Tungusian forms with initial sibilant. The [370] alternation of k and x is well known, (1) likewise x, h, and s, alternate in Tungusian dialects. (2) For this reason

1. W. Radloff, Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen, p. 108.

2. A. Schiefner, Melanges asiatiques, vol VII, 1877, pp. 338-339.

it is justifiable to correlate the forms kam and xam with Yakut xammā, xamsā (to move, to be agitated; xām, to step, to stride), (3) and to interpret the significance of the word

3. O. Böhthingk, Jakutisches Wörterbuch, P. 79.

from the shaman's peculiar behavior, his solemn and pompous pacing, his ecstacy, his convulsions, his frantic leaps and dancing. (4)

4. This explanation was first given by V. F. Troščanski, Evolutsiya černoi v'äry (šamanstva) u Yakutov (Evolution of the Black Faith among the Yakut),

(Kazan, 1902), p. 117. D. Banzarov (Černaya v'ära, p. 35) held a similar view, but arrived at it through a different process by connecting the word with Manchu samarambi and Mongol samoromoi, samagu; aside from the fact, however, that these words do not have the meaning required, or forced into them by Banzarov, they can by no means be reduced to the stem sam.--Kam is not a Yakut word for the shaman, as wrongly stated by A. van Gennep ('De l'emploi du mot "chamanisme,"' Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. 47, 1903, p. 52, the Yakut term is oyun."

10: Laufer--370-371 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-3
116, 114, 197, 756

"Németh gives no form of the word for Mongol, and explains the absence of a corresponding word in this language through a characteristic trait of the Mongols to whom the use of many words was tabooed; owing to such a taboo, the word šaman should have been lost. This is an arbitrary, far-fetched, and unnecessary theory. First of all, the word šaman does occur in Mongol, at least it is listed as a Mongol word in Kovalevski's and Golstunski's Mongol dictionaries. Whether it is frequent is another question. I never found it in a Mongol text. This is accounted for by the fact that the common term for a shaman in Mongol is bügä, bögä, Buryat buge and bö, corresponding to Turkish bögü, Djagatai bügi (sorcery), bügiči (sorcerer), Osmanli büi (sorcery).(5)

5. According to I. J. Schmidt (Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, St. Petersburg, 1826, p. 416), kami should be the Mongol name of the shamans. It would hardly be necessary to point out this blunder, had it not been immortalized in Yule's Hobson-Jobson (p. 820). There is no Mongol word kami with such a meaning. Schmidt found it in the Mongol chronicle of Sanang Setsen as the proper name of a Tibetan Bon-po, and this name reads correctly Khami or Xami. Schmidt's interpretation, evidently suggested by Turkish kam, is baseless and purely imaginary.

This series seems to bear some kind of relation to Chinese bu, wu (shaman), buk, puk (to divine), and Tibetan aba (pronounced ba, sorcerer); (6) but how [371] this

6. Compare my concordance in Toung Pao, 1916, p. 68.

relation is to be explained is beyond our present knowledge. The type kam--sam is possibly preserved in Mongol in a somewhat disguised form. According to the phonetic law established by Németh, the Mongol initial corresponding to Turkish k and Tungusian s should be ts, č. Thus we get at Mongol tsam, čam, that means a dance, and at present refers in particular to the religious pantomimic dance-performances of the Lamas in which, as is well known, many ancient shamanistic notions and rites of pre-Buddhistic times have survived. The same word in the same sense is encountered in Tibetan as č'am or ts'am (written ač'am), and it would be justifiable to regard the Mongol as a loan-word adopted from Tibetan; (1) but considering the fact that the

1. In a forthcoming study on Loan-Words in Tibetan, where an almost complete list of Mongol loan-words occurring in Tibetan is given, the writer has set forth the difficulties in recognizing the mutual loan-words

of the two languages. Mongol and Tibetan have a certain number of words in common, partially due to a prehistoric contact, partially due to allively intellectual interchange in historical periods; and it is not always possible to decide in each and every case which side is the recipient, and which the borrower.

word is isolated (that is, not found in any other Indo-Chinese language), it is likewise permissible to stamp the Tibetan as a Mongol loan. For the rest, I give with all reserve this theory of a possible connection of Mongol tsam with Turkish-Tungusian kam--sam (religious dancer).

At any rate it is obvious that the word šaman has now legitimately secured an absolute and irrevocable decree of divorce from its pseudo-mate çramana, samana, or ša-men, and that this mismated couple cannot live together any longer. Tungusian saman, šaman, xaman, etc., Mongol šaman, Turkish kam and xam, are close and inseparable allies grown and nourished on the soil of northern Asia, --live witnesses for the great antiquity of the shamanistic form of religion."